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M.A. Thesis

(BISHOP ALEXANDER MACDONELL AND EDUCATION
IN
UPPER CANADA)

BY

WILLIAM J. STEWART

1942

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PREFACE

It is more than a century and a half since the Loyalists made their weary way to the fastnesses of the Upper Canadian forests and began to lay the foundation of the future prosperous Province of Ontario. To the people now living in this province those early days are seldom the subject of discussion. They are a basic part of Ontario's national heritage, and, save for their recall now and again in history lessons, the heroic struggles of the early pioneers are seldom brought to mind.

It seems to the writer that a study of the lives of many of the early pioneers of this province will amply repay anyone who will devote a part of his time to such study. It is with the object of focussing attention on the work of one of Upper Canada's most illustrious pioneers that the following work has been undertaken. There were giants in those early days, - physical giants, and intellectual giants, - and in both categories belonged Bishop Alexander Macdonell, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada.

The work herein attempted makes no claim to being a complete study of Bishop Macdonell's career in Upper Canada. Its main object is to bring to mind the hardships faced by the early settlers in Upper Canada, and the work carried on by Bishop Macdonell, especially in the field of Catholic education.

Little new material has been brought to light in the study. Only a small number of records dealing with the establishment of pioneer schools are still extant, and most of these have been made use of in publications of one kind or another. Two records in this

work are in private hands, and have not been made use of before. They throw light on procedures followed in establishing schools in the pioneer days. The writer trusts that the reader of these pages will be led to a realization of the hardships of pioneer life in Upper Canada, the heroic nature of Bishop Macdonell's mission in the new province, and the measure of his success, particularly in the field of Catholic education.

Winchester, Ontario,

April 11, 1942.

W.J.S.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN UPPER CANADA

Previous to the American Revolutionary War that part of the Province of Quebec lying west of Montreal was largely an unpopulated wilderness with trading posts scattered here and there in strategic situations. Its only permanent inhabitants beyond the trading posts were Indians, a few missionaries, and French and English fur traders and trappers. After the close of the war, however, this western portion of the province became settled by disbanded soldiers and Loyalist refugees who began to show signs of dissatisfaction with certain provisions of the Quebec Act, passed in 1774. Their agitation for a change, augmented by the claims of a distinctly partisan English-speaking minority in and around the urban parts of what is now the Province of Quebec, resulted in the passage of the Constitutional Act in 1791. This act divided the Province of Quebec into two provinces, named Upper and Lower Canada, later to become the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. By proclamation of John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, that province was divided into counties in 1792, the three eastern counties being named Glengarry, Stormont, and Dundas. On the fifteenth of October of the same year, the Parliament of Upper Canada passed an act changing the names of the districts. Under this act the District of Lunenburg became the Eastern District.⁽¹⁾ It was in this district that Father Alexander Macdonell, the chief subject of this work, began his Canadian ministry.

The first settlers in Dundas, Stormont, and Glengarry were, as we have already noted, the disbanded soldiers of regiments which had

(1) Pringle, J.F., "Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District", page 48.

seen active service in the American Revolutionary War. The first settlement in Dundas was begun in June, 1784, and that in Stormont and Glengarry, in all probability, a little earlier. (2) "Many of the men of the Royal Highland Emigrants were placed in the Townships of Lancaster, Charlottenburgh, and Cornwall; some of those who had been in the Royal Regiment of New York, also settled in Lancaster and Charlottenburgh; but the most of them were located in Matilda, Williamsburgh, Osnabruck, and Cornwall!" (3) The larger portion of the United Empire Loyalists in Dundas County and in the south-western part of Stormont County was of German descent. With these settlers came a small number of Scottish immigrants, also of Loyalist stock. The German settlers were mostly Lutherans, while the Scottish settlers of this region belonged largely to the Presbyterian faith. Within the next few years after the coming of the Loyalists to the Eastern District, other immigrants from Europe came to settle other parts of the region, chiefly to the north of the settlements already established. To Glengarry came many settlers from the Highlands of Scotland; to Stormont and Dundas came not only many Anglo-Saxon settlers, but also additional immigrants from the American States. During the time that John Graves Simcoe was Lieutenant-Governor, there was an influx of settlers from the United States, not every one of whom, it must be admitted, was fired with the desire to flee from the "dread tyranny" of Republicanism, as Simcoe's public utterances seemed to suggest. McArthur's estimate of the loyalty of these latest immigrants to Upper Canada is given in the following words:

(2) Croil, James, "Dundas, or a Sketch of Canadian History", page 129.

(3) Pringle, J.F. op.Cit., page 28

"Immigration poured in at a rapid rate, while the character of the new settlers was such as distinctly to influence its political future. The stream of bona fide Loyalist immigrants had now practically run dry, and settlement was seeking a normal basis. Americans in search of opportunities to improve their circumstances sought the fertile lands of Upper Canada. Loyalist claims were advanced, but in the majority of cases, devotion to George III ceased whenever it had served to secure a more favourable grant of land". (4)

As we shall see later, the Highland Immigrants, with almost negligible exception, were not among the number of those who took up arms against the government in the insurrections of 1837, nor were many people of the Eastern District found in the ranks of the rebels, the reasons for which will be discussed later. Generally speaking, both the Loyalists and the later immigrants from the British Isles were desirous of creating in the land of their adoption a type of political and social life superior in many respects to what they had left behind. If the attainment of their desire involved many years of slow and sometimes uncertain progress, this must not be attributed to want of effort. The desire was consciously felt, but the struggle for actual subsistence, in the early years, resulted in the goal being seen only in foggy outline by most of the people. In the field of elementary education new paths had to be blazed, and the goal to be attained, particularly with respect to governmental direction and support, was not more apparent to most people than was the case in the political and social realm.

Not long after his arrival in Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, the first governor of the new province manifested his interest in educational matters by suggesting that an application be made by the Legis-

(4) McArthur, D., "Upper Canada, 1791-1812", in "Canada and its Provinces, vol. III, page 183.

lature to the Imperial Government for a grant of public lands of the province for the establishment of Grammar Schools and a University. Simcoe was not primarily interested in the question of establishing Common Schools. He was an aristocrat, and as such, held to the belief prevalent at that time among his class in England, that the education of the masses in the "common branches" was no particular concern of the state. At any rate, in his opinion, Grammar Schools and a University should take precedence over the needs of an elementary education for the masses. His views on elementary education are adequately expressed in the following words from a letter of his to the Honourable Henry Dundas, dated April 28, 1792: "But the question of higher education is of still more importance; lower education being less expensive may, in the meantime, be provided by relations, and more remotely by school lands". (5)

In 1797 the Legislature of Upper Canada addressed a memorial to the Imperial Government asking that an appropriation of a certain portion of the waste lands of the Crown be made, "for the establishment and support of a respectable Grammar School in each district thereof, and also of a College, or University for the instruction of the Youth in the different branches of liberal knowledge". (6) The result of this memorial was that some 550,000 acres of Crown Lands were set aside for the two purposes mentioned in the petition; but the appropriation resulted in no immediate aid to the Grammar Schools throughout the province. As late as 1831 a Select Committee of the House of Assembly reported as follows:

"From this condensed view of the proceedings of the Execut-

(5) Hodgins, J.G. "Documentary History of Education", vol. 1, page 11

(6) Hodgins, J.G., "Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario", vol. I, pages 2 and 3.

ive Council, on the munificent provision for the diffusion of education in this Province, the Committee are struck with the singular fact that no apparent benefit has resulted to the inhabitants of the country from the School reservation for a period of thirty years; and that the original intention of the Legislature, expressed in the Joint Address to His Majesty in July, 1797, as well as His Majesty's Most Gracious desire to meet their wishes, have hitherto, as far as Your Committee can judge, been lost sight of, and for no other reason that Your Committee can discover than that a (Grammar) School, has, by an act of the Legislature been already established in each District, with a salary of £100 for the Master".(7)

The act referred to in the above quotation was the first statute passed in Upper Canada for the establishment of schools of any kind. Considering the views of education held by the ruling classes of that day, especially those of British birth, it is not strange that this first educational act should have been for the establishment of secondary schools. In brief, this act voted £800, "for the establishment of Public Schools in this Province", and enacted that there should be one Public School in each district. The township or town in which each school was to be situated was designated, and the person administering the affairs of the province was empowered to appoint "not less than five fit and discreet persons", in each district to act as trustees. The trustees so appointed had full power, subject to the approval of the the Governor, to examine, hire, and dismiss the teacher, and to make rules and regulations respecting the conduct of the school. Payment of the grant due each school was to be made on the warrant of the Governor, based on the report of the trustees.(8)

In the absence of any centralized direction with respect to courses of study, it can easily be seen that there would be much

(7) Hodgins, J.G. "Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario, vol.1, page 17

(8) Hodgins, J.G., "Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario, vol.1, pages 4 and 5.

diversity in the subjects being taught in the various schools of the province, and that the nature of the subject matter would largely depend upon the academic training and personal likes and dislikes of the principal of each school. The act of 1807 laid down two requirements which have been embodied in all school legislation since, firstly, grants payable from the central treasury on compliance with regulations laid down by the Provincial Government, and secondly, local trustee control within the limits of those regulations.

In the matter of secondary schools in the province, private enterprise had preceded government legislation, and there were in operation when the act of 1807 was passed, two or three schools where outstanding work was being done, but on the whole, the schools were a very indifferent lot. One of the most successful of these secondary schools was being conducted at Cornwall by the Reverend John Strachan, not far from the scene of the Reverend Alexander Macdonell's first field of endeavour in Upper Canada. In fact the name of "the Reverend Mr. Macdonell", in all probability the future Bishop, appears among the names of guests present at an examination of this school held on July 31, 1805. Incidentally, Mr. Strachan's school became the Eastern District Public School with the passage of the Act of 1807.

Assuming that secondary school conditions in the Eastern District were typical of what prevailed throughout Upper Canada during the early years of the eighteenth century, we may gain some conception

of what those conditions were by reading the following report of the Public School trustees for the Eastern District, covering conditions in 1822.

"To His Excellency, Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces, and Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada:

"The Trustees of the District School in and for the Eastern District have to report; That during the last year about twenty-five scholars have on an average attended the Eastern District School under the charge of Mr. Henry James. That being principally very young children, none of them are far advanced in their education and many of them at its very commencement. The Trustees, viewing the District School as an Establishment intended to afford the means of obtaining a Liberal and Classical Education, and as an institution in which those who have attended the Common Schools may finish their studies, regret to be under the necessity of stating that the school under their superintendence has not recently afforded the same satisfaction as heretofore, and that in consequence of the inability of the Teacher to do justice to the situation, they have been compelled to recommend another Person in his stead, for the approval of Your Excellency

"All of which is respectfully submitted".

Cornwall, 10th., January, 1823.

Neil McLean
Jos. Anderson
S. Anderson (8)

Even when allowances are made for a number of scholars who may have been obtaining their secondary school training in Lower Canada, or in the United States, it can be seen from the above report that only an insignificant number of students from the Eastern District were being taught in the secondary schools at that time, as the school in Cornwall was the only secondary school in the Eastern District receiving aid from the Provincial Treasury. It can also be seen that of the few scholars attending the school, many had no scholastic background to cope with the advanced programme of studies which, theoretic-

ally, at least, should be followed in a secondary school. The trustees' criticism of their school was similar to criticisms throughout the province at that time; mainly that it was not fulfilling the mission for which it was intended, to fit students for later university training. The school had fallen from its comparatively flourishing state during the principalship of the Reverend John Strachan, to a place where it had lost its former superiority. In the absence of good elementary schools and trained teachers, only the presence of an outstanding grammar school principal could attract to the school a sufficient number of scholars to make it a successful institution. The Cornwall Grammar School, in 1822, represented substantially grammar school conditions throughout the province at that time. If those were conditions typical of the grammar schools in 1822, how much worse must they have been sixteen years earlier, when Father Macdonell arrived in Upper Canada ?

Anyone who attempts to ascertain school conditions in Upper Canada previous to the year 1816 is handicapped in his task because of the scarcity of authentic records. The lack of extant records of early schools can be attributed to at least one or more of three causes. In the first place, it is doubtful whether any records except perhaps receipts for payments of money, were kept in the case of many of the early schools; secondly, the pioneer conditions under which the early settlers lived were not conducive to the preservation of such records as had been made; and thirdly, until after the passage of the act of 1816 it was not obligatory

for any common school to lay before the provincial government records of its school.

In the Eastern District, scene of Father Macdonell's early work in Upper Canada, there are, unfortunately, in common with other parts of the province, few early school records now available. However, there are two early records for the County of Glengarry, which throw light on the procedure followed in establishing common schools eight years before Father Macdonell came to Upper Canada, and fifteen years after his arrival in the province. The earlier of these records is dated June 30, 1796, and is in the possession of Mr. D.D. Macdonell, Green Valley, Ontario, Secretary-Treasurer of Separate School Section Number Fourteen, Township of Lancaster. It reads as follows:

"Glengarry, the 30th. June, 1796.

"This contract and mutual agreement between the parties following, Donald McDonell of Charlottenburgh on the one part and Archibald McDonell of Lancaster and Duncan Kennedy of Charlottenburgh for themselves and others, that is to say; the said Donald McDonell binds and obliges himself to serve the above Archibald McDonell and Duncan Kennedy and others as Schoolmaster for the space of six years from the first of November next to come, 1796, or sooner or later, as he, the said Donald McDonell shall open and commence his school, and further binds himself to take and receive the Equal half of his salary from his forsaide employers in good sufficient marketables, grain and other produce, and that at the current price of the settlement. Also the said Donald McDonell binds himself to take thirty schollers for the first year and not to exceed twenty-six schollers for the five years following, and further binds himself not to have or accept of any number of additional schollers over and above the forsaide 26, not exceeding four in number. That the said Archibald McDonell and Duncan Kennedy binds and obliges themselves to pay the said Donald McDonell thirty pounds Halifax Currency for the

first year, the equal half in produce, as above mentioned, and the other half in cash, unless agreeable to the said Donald McDonell to take it also in produce; and thirty-six pounds like currency yearly for the five following years to be paid in the like manner, and the said sum to be paid duly and yearly, on or before the six of January, timely and yearly. They further bind themselves to build two sufficient log houses in due time both of the same dimensions, 30 feet in every way, with a chimney in each and a cellar in one and a loft in the other.

" Also binds themselves that every two schollers shall give an ordinary load of hay and straw yearly to the said Donald McDonell for the first year and also to be continued for the other five years; or permit the said Donald McDonell a reasonable time to cut an equal portion of hay yearly and to carry the same home; further binds themselves to clear and fence two acres of land for the use of the same Donald McDonell.

" And the same to be ready on or before the first day of May next, 1797, to secure a crop, and that the said Donald McDonell are allowed eight days to himself in the planting time.

" Both parties binds and obliges themselves to pay Twenty-five pounds Halifax Currency of Penalty, the party failing to the party performing. As witness our Subscription and Usual Marks, place and date above said.

Donald McDonell

Archibald McDonell

Duncan Kennedy "

The names of sixteen subscribers are affixed to the document, an interesting feature being that all but three of these names are followed by the subscribers' marks. As a legal document, and as a model of English composition and spelling, the agreement just quoted contains certain imperfections; but as a working agreement between a teacher and his employers, it was adequate, no doubt, to fulfil the purpose for which it had been drawn up.

Certain of its provisions suggest the difficulties encountered in establishing schools previous to 1816, before there were any government regulations to guide the founders of schools. The

primitive type of building considered adequate for school purposes, the provision that the teacher might, if he were so inclined, accept all his salary in farm produce, and that he must accept at least half of it in this manner; and the lack of any mention of the course of study to be followed, all point to the primitive conditions in the colony at that time; but the fact that the various subscribers, few of whom could sign their names, were prepared to build and maintain a school for the instruction of their children, augured well for the future educational welfare of the community. Here, twenty years before the passage of the first Common School Act, had been drawn an agreement in conformity with a number of the provisions of that act. A community effort was blazing the way for the provincial legislation to follow many years later. How important is the problem of education in a democracy where, ideally, reforms come as the answer to the desires of an enlightened populace!

As an example of what may have been a prevalent procedure in establishing common schools under the provisions of the act of 1816, a well-preserved record book in the possession of Mr. F. B. MacLennan, Barrister, Cornwall, Ontario, may be cited. The items in this book describe the preliminary steps undertaken in establishing a school in School Section Number Six, Township of Charlottenburgh. As the resolutions passed at the meeting to establish this school are, for the most part, self-explanatory, it is proposed to quote them with a minimum of comment. The first part of the record reads as

follows:

"At a meeting of the Landholders of that part of the Township of Charlottenburgh called Glenniore, for the purpose of erecting a School House and electing trustees for the better government thereof according to the Act of the Legislature of this province in that case made and provided, Mr. William Hay being called to the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved 1st. - That it is and we think it absolutely necessary that a School House be erected in this part of the said Township, and we think that it is necessary that the said School House be erected on the west side of the River Aux Raisin and north side of the Glenn Road so as that the door of the said School House may front on the road.

"Resolved 2ndly; - That the size of the said School House be 22 feet square to contain six windows and each window to contain 12 lights, and we whose names are hereunto annexed do agree to furnish equally everything necessary for the erecting of the said School House.

"Resolved 3rdly. - That Mr. John McDonald, Mr. William Hay and Mr. James McDonell be appointed Trustees to said School, and we do think it necessary that each Scholar whose parents have not assisted at the Building of the said School do pay 4 d. extra each month, and that said Trustees do fill their office for one year from the date hereof.

"Resolved 4thly. - That each Scholar at the end of every twelve months must pay a further sum of 1 shilling to be deposited as a fund for the repairing of the said School House and that Mr. William Hay be appointed Treasurer to the said Fund.

John McDonald,
Clerk.

Dated at Glenniore, 6th. February, 1819.

A perusal of the resolutions quoted above show them to be substantially in line with the requirements laid down in Sections Two and Three of the first Common School Act of Upper Canada, passed three years previously. These sections of the act enacted as follows:

(2) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this Act, it shall and may be lawful, for the Inhabitants of any Town, Township, Village, or place, to meet together for the purpose of making arrangements for Common Schools in such Town, Township, Village, or place, on or before the first day of June in the present year, and on the first day of June in each and every year, during the continuance of this Act.

(3) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That so soon as a competent number of persons as aforesaid, shall unite and build or provide a School House, engage to furnish twenty scholars or more, and shall in Part provide for the payment of a Teacher, it shall and may be lawful for such persons as aforesaid, or the majority of them, giving eight days' previous notice thereof, to meet at some convenient place appointed for that purpose, and it shall and may be lawful for such persons as aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to appoint three fit and discreet persons, Trustees to the said Common School, who shall have power and authority to examine into the moral character and capacity of any person willing to become Teacher of such Common School, and being satisfied of the Moral Character and capacity of such Teacher, to nominate and appoint such person as Teacher of said Common School. (9)

Beyond providing a small government grant, setting up boards of education, requiring that teachers must be British subjects either by birth, conquest, or naturalization, and that boards must report once a year on the state of the school under their superintendence, the act left the trustees a free hand in managing their school. Four years later the drastic reduction in the amount of money to be apportioned to the schools, left the individual amount apportioned per school so small that its beneficial effect in the cause of educational progress was almost negligible.

In the record book for School Section Number Six, referred to a few paragraphs previously, fifteen subscribers' names, with the

(9) Hodgins, J.G., "Historical Educational Papers and Documents Of Ontario, vol. 1, page 6.

with the names of their respective children, are written at the end of the following agreement, dated in September of the year in which the first meeting was held:

"We the undersigned subscribers do hereby bind ourselves to William Hay, James McDonell and John McDonald, Trustees of the School established on Lot No. 8 of the second Concession of the Township of Charlottenburgh and South Side of River Aux Raisin, to pay to them our proportion of the payment of Thirty Pounds, the salary of the Schoolmaster, according to the number of Scholars that we do send to the above school.

Dated at Glenniore this 28th. day of September, one thousand, eight hundred and nineteen" (10)

The number of children whose individual names appear is twenty-four, which number would assure the school's sharing in the general grant to be apportioned under the provisions of the Act of 1816. One subscriber whose name appears on the list, evidently did not have children of school age, as the names of no children follow his name. It is interesting to note that all the subscribers except the one mentioned above had their names attached to this further agreement:

"We whose names are hereunto annexed do firmly bind ourselves in the penal sum of five pounds Halifax Currency to furnish equally for the building of a School House in Glenniore, Timber, Boards, Shingles, etc., and to assist equally in building the wall thereof or any other work that may be required when called on by the Trustees, and we also agree to furnish Cash equally for the purpose of purchasing a Stove, Glass, Putty and Nails, as also the workmanship of the said School House for the Reception of the teacher on the 1st. day of August next.

Dated at Glenniore, this sixth day of February, 1819.

In the case of this school a record was kept of the personal contributions of each subscriber, similar to the one given below;

(10) Eleven of the fifteen names appear to be in the same handwriting, and the spelling of certain names appears to be incorrect.

—

"Account of the contribution to the building of the School House in Glenniors, October 1st., 1819.

Daniel McIntyre has put in his proportion of Timber,				
In work, days, his boards and shingles	£ 3,	3 s.	1 d.	
In cash for stove	£ 0	11 s.	3 d.	
To Mr. Wheat, (11)	£ 0	7 s.	11 d.	

Apparently the subscribers bound themselves each successive year to furnish their respective quotas of money for the maintenance of the school.

The trustees, not being a corporate body, were not empowered to assume possession of the school grounds and the school house in their capacity as trustees for the subscribers. In lieu of this John McDonell on whose property the school house was erected, bound, "himself, his heirs, Executors or Assignees to pay or cause to be paid a penalty of one hundred and fifty pounds current money of this Province of Upper Canada, to Mr. William Hay, James McDonald, and John McDonell, or to their successors in office for a just and lawful Lien of the expenses which had been laid out for the establishment of said schoolhouse above-mentioned in case the said John McDonell, his heirs, Executors or Assignees should in the course of the time which shall be hereafter specified violate or make null any of the ties or the agreement made between him and the said Trustees, Viz., Messrs. William Hay, James McDonald and John McDonell".

The time specified was thirty-one years. The owner of the land further agreed to allow free access to the road leading to and from the school for the whole period specified.

(11) This entry, "to Mr. Wheat", appears in all but one of the personal accounts. The writer has been informed that this entry refers to expenditures for liquor, presumably consumed during the construction of the school, and naively recorded as above.

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The documents made use of in establishing the two Glengarry schools, and which have been quoted in this chapter, are evidence that elementary school conditions in this county were little different in 1796 from what prevailed almost a quarter of a century later. Other evidence could be produced to show that from 1816 until the late thirties of the same century, little real improvement was effected in elementary education throughout the whole of Upper Canada. Contemporary criticism from the various districts outline similar conditions. Mr. John Morris Flindall, in a letter of general criticism of the elementary schools states in part as follows:

"..... The paths to learning should, if possible, be strewn with flowers, and not with thorns. The tutor should be mild and firm, patient and persuasive, rather than clothed with terrors; his pupils one family; himself the father. Those parents have very erroneous notions, who consider a school master as the only proper dispenser of punishments; or who tease and interrupt him, with continual complaints of juvenile errors, in which the parents alone are responsible.

"..... While some parents forbid the rigour necessary to remove the vices, or to unlearn the errors acquired by parental indulgence, others most approve of those passionate pedagogues, who prefer stripes to precepts and in higgling with a preceptor about his recompense, think they have made a good bargain, when they get one who will whip their children for a half a dollar per quarter less than another would charge to instruct them. While they hesitate not, in giving a labourer a dollar per day, for his services, whose labours though severe, are not equal to those of the mind. A school-master who receives 25 dollars from government, is expected to teach a scholar for one dollar and a half per quarter; his recompense, therefore, from the parent is one penny per day, and for that he has often to give six lessons !

"..... One might suppose from the shattered conditions and ill accommodation of many school-houses, that they were erected as pounds, to confine unruly boys, and punish them by way of freezing and smoking, - so the master can do little more than regulate the ceremony of the hearth". (12)

(12) Kingston Gazette, June 9, 1818. (For whole letter see appendix)

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The various reports of District Boards of Education and of the General Board of Education for the years following 1816 show the meagreness of the courses of study, the small assistance from the Provincial Treasury, and the comparatively small number of schools participating in the school fund. The report of the General Board of Education for 1826 showed about three hundred and forty schools in which, "from seven to eight thousand children are taught reading, and writing, the elements of arithmetic, and the first principles of religion". The report further states "It is of the greatest importance that the education of the Colony should be conducted by the Anglican Clergy". (13)

It can thus be seen that Upper Canada had a General Board of Education, largely dominated by the Anglican element. The president of the board was the Reverend John Strachan, whose outlook was coloured by his strong Anglican bias, and somewhat aristocratic views. Many of the schools, particularly the Grammar Schools, were staffed by Anglicans, who, irrespective of their teaching ability were not entirely acceptable to the majority of the parents of other Protestant denominations, and less so to the Catholic parents of the province. The number of both primary and secondary schools in operation was too few to provide for the educational needs of all children of school age; consequently, a large proportion of the children received no formal education, and illiteracy was quite common throughout the colony. With a few notable exceptions the school buildings were poor structures, cold, dark, and generally lacking in educational equipment and sanitary conveniences.

(13) Quoted by H.J. Somers, in "The Life and Times of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell", page 51.

It can be truthfully asserted that the general condition of rank and file of the people in the colony was backward in almost every respect; but many were becoming more and more dissatisfied with educational conditions, and to Father Alexander Macdonell the time seemed opportune, and the need imperative to launch a venture which would take care of the special educational needs of his flock. His plan involved the erection of a seminary of education at St. Raphaels, for the completion and staffing of which there were not sufficient means among the Catholic population. It was at this juncture, in 1815, that he addressed his memorial to Lord Drummond, Administrator of the Province, in which he appealed for financial aid to support his seminary, and maintain a number of teachers and clergymen to be secured in the British Isles.

CHAPTER II —

HISTORICAL HERITAGE, EDUCATION, AND PRIESTHOOD IN SCOTLAND.

For centuries previous to the Act of Union, 1707, Scotland's history had been one long struggle for national independence varied at intervals by civil strife of one kind or another in which the Crown had maintained its power over a turbulent aristocracy only by balancing one faction against another. The Highlands presented a situation ably described by Sir Henry Craik, in the following words:

"Behind this turbulent and disordered camp, which closed its ranks from time to time to resist the encroachments of England, and to maintain its own independence, there lay a wide and unexplored mountain territory, inhabited by a race of different origin, speaking an unknown tongue, and alien alike in social custom, in religion and in sympathy. These hordes were known chiefly by their ever-recurring plundering forays, and by an occasional pitched battle, from which they returned to their mountains, defeated but not subdued". (1)

The Act of Union had two main effects on the part of Scotland not included in the Highlands. It led to the decay of the military spirit, and limited the power of the feudal barons, but the vast region of the Highlands remained largely unaffected by the change, and the two countries were not brought closer in sympathy with each other because the Scotsman had deep-rooted notions about his religion which were not fully understood by the average Englishman. As Craik says, "It is a commonplace of English witticism to profess a derisive horror of the complications of Scottish ecclesiastical disputes. The truth is, that no other range of human interests appears to follow laws so regular and uniform in their development as those

(1) Craik, Sir Henry, "A century of Scottish History", vol. 1, page 2.

which operate in regard to religion; and the operation of these laws was never more distinctly traceable than in the course of Scottish religious struggles. It was only the history of the country which gave to them a shape so alien to anything which English history reveals to us". (2)

It is a commonplace of history that the rebellion of 1715 might have succeeded had better leadership been provided; but by 1745, the chances of a successful insurrection were very slight. The rebellion of 1745 resulted in the most ruthless reprisals against the rebels, and extremely repressive measures against the Roman Catholic Church. Among the harshest of these measures may be noted the following:

1. Anyone exercising the functions of a pastor at any Episcopal meeting where more than four persons were gathered, without having taken the statutory oaths, was liable to imprisonment for six months for the first offence, and transportation for life for a second offence.

2. Episcopal clergymen must show their orders; but only such orders as were given under the aegis of the Church of England were considered legal.

3. Attendance at any illegal Episcopal meeting house was banned. The penalty for such attendance was imprisonment and deprivation of all political rights.

4. (Statute of 1748). No one, other than a minister of the Established Church could perform any divine service in any house, or for any family of which he was not master, without

(2) Ibid., vol. 1, page 4.

rendering himself liable to the penalties attaching to an unauthorized chaplain, - imprisonment for the first offence and transportation for life for a second offence.

The burning of church buildings was a common practice by Cumberland's troops, and the clergy were hunted from place to place; but all this persecution failed to extirpate either the hunted clergy or their flocks. They worshipped in secret in the glens, hoping and praying for the time when they might again practice their religion in the open, and unmolested. Scotland has a proud heritage in the steadfastness of its religious zealots of whatever creed. Her history for centuries has shown that religious persecution is a weak tool with which to change religious beliefs and practices. The young Alexander Macdonell, born in 1762, was to have for his religious inspiration the examples of thousands of his countrymen of his own and previous generations who had sacrificed everything, even life itself, in defence of their religious freedom. As Craik observes, "The religious fervour and its attendant heroism, which had been so conspicuous in the days of the Camerons, were not confined to one section or to one generation of Scotsmen, - still less were they limited to one form of religious belief. They burned as brightly on the rocky coast of Angus and Mearns and in the mountain glens of Inverness-shire, as on the wild heaths and moorlands of Galloway and Ayrshire, - as warmly in the hearts of the proscribed Episcopalians as in those of the persecuted Covenanters". (3)

At the time of Macdonell's birth the memory of "the forty-five"

(3) Craik, Sir Henry, op. cit., vol. 1, page 309.

was still fresh in the minds of the older folk, and repressive measures against the Catholics were still in force, but were generally neglected in the grosser aspect.

The place of his birth is not exactly known, but was probably in the County of Inverness-shire. (4) He received his early education at Strathglass, later attending the seminary at Scanlan. When sixteen years of age he was sent to the Scots' College in Paris, and subsequently, to the Scots' College at Vallalodid in Spain. Here he was ordained Priest, on Holy Saturday, February 16, 1787, and then returned to Scotland where he was stationed as a Missionary Priest in the Braes of Lochaber, remaining in this station for a number of years. (5)

During his absence on the Continent there had been sporadic outbursts against the Catholics in Scotland, but conditions were peaceful upon his return. It is a singular fact, and one worth noting, that Father Macdonell, who had seen the effects of repressive measures against Catholics in Scotland, retained throughout his life a deep faith in the efficiency of constitutional government. He saw that repressive and discriminatory laws against minorities are not fundamentally phases of constitutional government. They are no more a part of constitutional government than are cancerous cells a part of the true cells of vital growth. Father Macdonell saw that with proper distribution of authority and duties, the practice of religion, and the functions of constitutional government should be mutually helpful. Throughout his public ministry he upheld by precept and

(4) Somers, H. J., "Life and Times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, page 9.

(5) Macdonell, J. A., "A sketch of the Life of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, page 4.

example the injunction to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

To revert to economic conditions in Scotland, it may be said that during the first half of the eighteenth century the Lowlanders enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity. In the Highlands, on the other hand, primitive conditions of agriculture still prevailed, and privation was rife. The replacement of cattle by the more profitable sheep worked great hardship among the tenant farmers, who were thus deprived of their livelihood, and emigration, principally to the United States of America, was very heavy. It was at this critical period in the history of the Highlands that Father Macdonell undertook the task of attempting to better the conditions of his compatriots. With this object in view, he went to Glasgow, in 1792, where he was given an introduction to several of the professors of the University, and also to a number of the leading manufacturers of the city. To the latter he proposed the employment of a number of the Highlanders in the factories of Glasgow, a proposal to which the manufacturers gave a ready assent, as indicated by Father Macdonell in these words: "The manufacturers, appearing much pleased with the proposal, offered every protection and encouragement in their power to himself, (Macdonell), and followers. Accordingly, with the approbation of his Bishop, he took up residence in Glasgow in June, 1792, and in the course of a few months, procured employment for upwards of 600 Highlanders". (6)

Things went along well with the Highlanders in Glasgow for two

(6) From a letter in the Canadian Literary Magazine, April, 1833, vol. 1, page 3, quoted by J.A. Macdonell in "A sketch of the Life of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell".

years, and then disaster overtook them. This time it was the war between England and France which cut off the export of British manufactures to France and other parts of continental Europe. As a result there were wholesale dismissals of employees, and the Highlanders soon found themselves in a destitute condition, made even more unendurable since they were unacquainted with the language of the city in which they had taken refuge two years previously.

It was then that Father Macdonell conceived the idea of getting the unfortunate Highlanders embodied as a Catholic corps in the Imperial army. A meeting was held at Fort Augustus, in February, 1794, a loyal address was formulated in which an offer was made to raise a Catholic corps under the command of the Chief of the Macdonell Clan, who, along with other prominent Highlanders went as a delegation to London to present the petition to the king. The project was successful and the Highland regiments so formed served with distinction in the Guernsey Islands, and in Ireland. In the latter country the influence of Father Macdonell, who had been made Chaplain, was instrumental in ameliorating the unusually harsh treatment accorded the mutineers when they fell into the hands of the soldiery. Many a mutineer, who would otherwise have been executed summarily by the soldiery was saved by Father Macdonell's instrumentality, to face legal trial. Some idea of the conditions existing in Ireland at this time may be obtained from Father Macdonell's own description as he saw them. He says in part,

"The Catholic chapels in many of those parts had been turned

—

into stables for the yeomanry cavalry, but the Chaplain, when he came, caused them to be cleaned out and restored to their proper use. He also invited the terrified inhabitants and clergy to resume their accustomed worship, and laboured not in vain to restore tranquillity and peace to the people, persuading them that if they behaved quietly and peacefully the government would protect Catholics as well as Protestants, and impressing upon their minds that the government, having entrusted arms to the hands of the Glengarry Highlanders, who were Roman Catholics, was a proof that it was not inimical to them on account of their religion. These exhortations, together with the restoration of divine service in the chapels, the strict discipline enforced by Colonel Macdonell, and the repression of the licentiousness of the yeomanry, served in a great measure to restore confidence to the people, to allay feelings of dissatisfaction and to extinguish the embers of rebellion wherever the Glengarry Regiment served".(7)

The Treaty of Amiens in 1802 put a temporary stop to hostilities between England and France, with the result that many of the Scottish regiments were disbanded. Again, distress was rife in the Highlands, and Father Macdonell was faced with the problem of bringing a measure of prosperity to the people of his charge. It appeared to him that in emigration to Canada lay the solution of his problem. He was aware of the previous attempts of the government to discourage emigration, but with his characteristic energy and fearlessness he went to London where he laid his proposal for the emigration of the Highlanders to Canada, before Henry Addington, the premier. Mr. Addington, while reluctant to see so many Highlanders leave the country, nevertheless offered facilities for emigration of the Highlanders to Trinidad, but to this proposal Father Macdonell turned a deaf ear, and continued his negotiations with the government for grants of land for himself and his followers in Upper Canada. His request was finally granted, when further opposition to the plan was offered by the Scottish landlords

(7) Macdonell, J.A. op. cit., pages 9 and 10.

themselves; but in spite of all obstacles, many of the Highlanders made their way to Upper Canada by whatever means they could, and were soon followed by their spiritual leader, Father Macdonell, who had received from Bishop Cameron, vicar apostolic of his district, permission to go to America.

Anyone who studies the life of Bishop Macdonell must be impressed by his persistent efforts on behalf of his people in Scotland. Every move taken by him for the amelioration of their distresses, though successful for a short time, seemed to run into unexpected difficulties, and he was faced with the same problem in a new setting, that of providing for the temporal wants of his people without sacrificing any of their religious practices and privileges. That he led his people through crisis after crisis and finally brought them safely to a new land of promise serves only to indicate his unselfishness and his powers of leadership. A less dauntless man might have been content to remain in Scotland trusting that conditions might improve; but Father Macdonell hoped that in the fastnesses of Upper Canada lay the permanent solution of the Highlanders' economic problems. A less generous-minded man might have become embittered and thus have stood in his own light. Not so Father Macdonell. He came of a fighting race, and to him the prospect of a struggle in a new land for the worthwhile things of life for his people was a sufficient incentive to a man of his determined spirit.

CHAPTER III

FATHER MACDONELL'S EARLY DIFFICULTIES IN UPPER CANADA.

Before leaving London for Upper Canada Father Macdonell was the recipient of a tempting offer from Lord Selkirk to have the Highlanders of the disbanded Glengarry fencibles settled in the territory between Lakes Huron and Superior. In spite of the fact that Lord Selkirk offered him the sum of two thousand pounds as an indemnification for such a sudden change in his plans, Father Macdonell refused the offer because, as he explained, "The Chaplain was a second time compelled to give a refusal and to decline this generous offer of the Earl, declaring at the same time that he felt most grateful for such generosity, but that he could never think of putting himself under so great an obligation to any man; that the situation which his lordship had selected for his settlement was beyond the jurisdiction of the Government of Upper Canada, and so far from any other location that he was apprehensive that emigrants settling themselves in so remote a region would meet with insuperable difficulties; that he could by no means induce those with whose interests he was connected to go beyond the protection of the provincial government, and, besides, such a settlement would entirely destroy the North West Company, as it would cut off communication between the winterers of Canada; and as several of the principal members of that company were his particular friends, no consideration would induce him to

enter upon an enterprise that would injure their interest". (1)

The words just quoted reveal the three dominant characteristics of Father Macdonell's character, - sturdy independence, unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, and unequivocal loyalty in his personal friendships. It was indeed a fortunate circumstance that such a man was destined to be the spiritual leader of the Glengarry Fencibles in their adopted country.

Father Macdonell arrived at York, Upper Canada, on November 1, 1804, and immediately presented his credentials to Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, Governor of the province, and obtained the lands stipulated for his followers according to the Sign Manual. He was then appointed to the Mission of St. Raphaels in Glengarry, which remained his headquarters for some twenty-five years.

Shortly after his arrival in Glengarry he discovered that a large percentage of the settlers had not looked after the matter of obtaining legal titles to their holdings, and upon his shoulders fell the task of seeing that legal titles were obtained. In an address written years later he says, " I had not been long in this Province when I found that few or none of even those of you who were longest settled in the country had legal tenures of your properties. Aware that if trouble or confusion took place in the Province your properties would become uncertain and precarious, and under this impression I proceeded to the seat of Government, where, after some months hard and unremitting labour through the public offices, I procured for the inhabitants of the Counties of Glengarry and Stormont patent deeds for one

(1) Macdonell, J.A., op. cit., pages 18 and 19.

hundred and twenty-six thousand acres of land." (2)

Negligence in obtaining titles to the lands occupied seems to have been a feature common throughout the whole province of Upper Canada. It is referred to by William Canniff, who quotes the following from a letter which appeared in the Kingston Gazette, June 1, 1816, "It has long been a subject of deep regret in the minds of judicious persons that the inhabitants of this Province should be so negligent as they are in securing their titles of real estate." (3)

It is easily understood why this negligent attitude should have existed in the very early years of the Loyalist settlements. During those years the struggle for a bare existence crowded out other less urgent concerns, but one might suppose that by the time of Father Macdonell's arrival in Upper Canada the matter of legal land titles would have been largely settled. Such was not the case, and he showed his interest in the temporal affairs of the people of Glengarry and Stormont by losing no time in seeing that the land titles were legally confirmed. Indeed, Father Macdonell's guiding hand is seen often in shaping the temporal destinies of his people, and on occasion he did not hesitate to chide them for their lack of forethought, as he did in the address referred to previously in this chapter, when he stated, " I cannot pass over in silence one opportunity I gave you of acquiring property which would have put a large proportion of you at ease for many years, - I mean the transport of war-like stores from Lower Canada to the ports and military posts of this Province, which the

(2) Macdonell, J.A., op. cit., page 21

(3) Canniff, William, "History of the Settlement of Upper Canada", page 170

Governor-in-Chief, Sir George Prevost, and the Quartermaster-General, Sir Sidney Beckwith offered you at my request."

" After you refused that offer, it was given to two gentlemen who cleared from thirty to forty thousand pounds by the bargain".(4)

A typical Scot, industrious, astute, and energetic, Father Macdonell deprecated the existence of opposite qualities in other people. Even after the passage of many years the thought of his people's dereliction in refusing to accept this lucrative undertaking rankled in his frugal Scottish mind. The fact that the officials concerned made the offer, on his suggestion, shows that Father Macdonell must have been held in high esteem by the higher government officials of Upper Canada. It is the writer's opinion that Father Macdonell's strong influence with government officials in both England and Canada can be accounted for by the facts that his views were moderate, his requests were reasonable, and his dealings with religious and racial minorities were eminently fair.

Although the Eastern District was one of the first parts of Upper Canada to receive Loyalist settlers, it must be remembered that pioneering conditions existed in the more remote parts of the first-settled townships until well past the middle of the nineteenth century. Though no large general movements of immigrants to the Eastern District took place after the earlier influx ceased, immigrants continued to arrive until 1840 and later. Just twenty years before the arrival of Father Macdonell in Upper Canada, the first Loyalist settlements had been made, and, if one is to estimate conditions in the colony by contemporary

(4) Macdonell, J.A., op. cit., page 22

accounts, life went along on a very primitive scale. Roads were few and impassable for long periods every year, educational facilities were for the most part, non-existent, and there was such a dearth of clergymen, that the spiritual wants of the people were frequently neglected. Indeed, when Father Macdonell arrived in the province in 1804, there were only two priests in the whole of Upper Canada. An Irish Franciscan, Father Fitzsimmons, had arrived only a month before, and was ministering in the Eastern District; and at Sandwich laboured Father Marchand who could not speak English. Thus it came about that when Father Fitzsimmons went to New Brunswick in 1806, to Father Macdonell fell the task of ministering to the spiritual needs of the English-speaking Catholics of the whole province. In carrying out his herculean task he faced imminent danger on numerous occasions, and hardship and fatigue constantly. In describing his early difficulties in Upper Canada to the Lyons Society for the Propagation of the Faith, in 1826, he writes:

" For several years we had to travel over the whole province from Lake Superior to the province line of Lower Canada in the discharge of our pastoral duties carrying the sacred vestments sometimes on horse-back, and sometimes on our own back, and sometimes in small Indian birch canoes, crossing the Great Lakes and descending the rapids of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence in those Miserable crafts, living with the savages and sleeping in the woods: nor were our fatigues and miseries more supportable in visiting the miserable habitations of poor Irish emigrants whom religious persecution, and oppression of their landlords

had driven from their Native Country and compelled to seek an asylum in the interminable forests of Upper Canada." (5)

It will be remembered that one of the reasons advanced by the British authorities for their opposition to Father Macdonell's plan of Highland emigration to Upper Canada was the precarious hold Britain appeared to have on the colony of Upper Canada. It is estimated that about sixty per cent. of the population of the colony in 1813 was of American extraction, many of whom were known to prefer the American system of government.(6) While they were nominally loyal to the British constitution, they maintained communication with their friends in the United States, and in Upper Canada did not hesitate to show their preference for the republican form of government. Opposing these views were the Loyalists and most of the immigrants from the British Isles.

Because of his intercourse with all classes in the province father Macdonell had an excellent opportunity to appraise the influence of those citizens who advocated republican principles. He saw the danger which existed and did not hesitate to take steps to counteract it. In a memorial to the government in 1815, he says:
" That your Memorialist himself having by the sanction of government been appointed to the charge of all the Scotch Catholics in Upper Canada, directed his zealous attention in time of peace to nourish and foment the loyal principles of their ancestors on the minds of his flock, and to preserve them from republican principles, which by means of the uncontrolled influx of emigrants from the United States, he

(5) Archepiscopal Archives of Kingston, Letters Macdonell, 1826, 584. Quoted, page 40 and 41, in H.J.Somer's work, referred to previously.

(6) McArthur, Duncan, "History of Canada", page 183.

found rapidly diffusing through every part of the province."(7)

To give a practical turn to his plans for meeting any armed insurrection which might arise, either from those in Upper Canada who were opposed to British institutions, or from outside the province, Father Macdonell laid before Colonel, (later, General), Brock a proposal to recruit a corps of Highland Fencibles for service in Upper Canada. The proposed corps was to consist of four hundred and sixty-five men to be recruited in Glengarry County. Brock looked favourably upon the proposal which he forwarded to the Right Honourable William Windham, Secretary for War, in which he referred to Father Macdonell in the following words:

"In regard to the Reverend McDonald, I beg leave to observe that the men being all Catholics it may be deemed a prudent measure to appoint him Chaplain, his zeal and attachment to Government were strongly evinced whilst filling the office of Chaplain to the Glengarry Fencibles during the Rebellion in Ireland, and were graciously acknowledged by His Royal Highness, the Commandant in Chief".

" His Influence over the men is deservedly great and I have every reason to think that the corps by his exertions would be soon completed and hereafter become a nursery from which the army might draw a number of hardy recruits". (8)

No immediate steps were taken to put Father Macdonell's plan into action because, as Lord Castlereagh explained in his reply to Windham, several similar offers had been made but had not been adopted, as most attempts of this nature had failed to obtain the required number of

(7) Public Archives, Ottawa, Series Q, vol. 132, 239-244.

(8) Public Archives, Ottawa, Series Q, vol. 102, 36.

recruits. However, by 1808 the state of affairs was seen to be critical and a proposal to raise a corps of five hundred Highlanders from Glangarry in Upper Canada was accepted by the government, but the proposal was not carried into effect, nor does the proposal appear to have been repeated, until 1811, when war with the United States was seen to be imminent.

The fact that Father Macdonell's original proposal to raise a volunteer army of Highlanders from the Eastern District was not acted upon, may have had a more far-reaching effect on the subsequent history of Upper Canada than appears on the surface. Had the proposal to raise a corps been acted upon, and had he been appointed chaplain, his energy was so tireless, his faith in British institutions so boundless, and his influence with the people generally, so strong, there is little doubt that a substantial force would have been raised. Such a force would have been immediately available on the breaking out of hostilities with the United States, and might have served to inflict greater defeats upon the enemy. Later, when civil insurrection threatened in the two Canadas, a strong force of well-trained soldiers, loyal to British institutions, might have exerted a modifying influence on the action of the insurrectionists, and conceivably, bloodshed might have been averted. In that event, the main goal of the insurrectionists, responsible government, might have been reached in slower stages, but by peaceful means.

The breaking out of hostilities in 1811 put an end for the time being to Father Macdonell's close connection with projects for the

erection of schools and churches. No sooner were hostilities declared than he offered his services to the government. He went through the province during the winter of 1811-12 in aid of the recruiting campaign launched shortly after hostilities broke out. By May the Glengarry Light Infantry was at full strength, and orders were issued to continue recruiting. Father Macdonell, who had contributed his time and talents generously in recruiting the regiment, was appointed its chaplain. Since he was now fifty years old and his health not as good as formerly, the appointment carried with it exemption from attendance in the field, but as might have been expected, the chaplain did not take advantage of this thoughtful provision. It is said that Father Macdonell often stated that every man of his name should be either a priest or a soldier, and, had he not chosen the priesthood he would have followed a military career. He had rare qualifications for either vocation and no doubt had he chosen the latter career, his name would now stand high in the roll of military leaders.

Throughout the whole war of 1812-14 Father Macdonell was always actively engaged in any capacity where his talents could be put to the best use. He was even despatched to Lower Canada with plans for opening and maintaining communication between the two provinces, and was made chairman of the commission which directed the work of constructing a road through the Seigniory of Longueuil. He was the recipient of a letter of appreciation of his services in the war from Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, dated February 28, 1813. Later,

Lord Bathurst conveyed to him the thanks of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, who approved an increase in his salary, of fifty pounds per year, "as a testimony of the sense entertained by His Royal Highness of the services which he has rendered to the Province".(9)

How can the services of Father Macdonell in the War of 1812-14 be appraised ? The writer is of the opinion that his services to the Eastern District in particular rank along with those of the regimental commander. His recruiting campaigns among the people of the district resulted in heavy enlistments, and his example of courage in the field was an inspiration to the soldiers. He had displayed during the struggle the same perseverance, high qualities of leadership, and courage as he had shown in his missionary work in times of peace. The war ended, he was now free to resume his pioneering educational and missionary work among his people.

(9) Public Archives, Ottawa, Series Q, vol. 157, 66.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR GOVERNMENT AID

These years of war and turmoil had seriously upset the routine of Father Macdonell's missionary enterprises, and now he was faced once again with the herculean task which he had partially laid aside at the outbreak of hostilities. Perhaps his most urgent problem was to secure a sufficient number of clergymen to minister to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in the vast area over which he had supervision, and to obtain funds for their support. A secondary problem, in his view inextricably bound up with the first one was how to provide for the educational needs of the Catholic population. As Dr. H.J. Somers states, "The education that Father Macdonell wished to provide was that which would inculcate into the minds of the children the service of God and the service of their country. Fidelity to the service of God and patriotism were the two great characteristics of his educational policy".(1)

In spite of the progress in Catholic education which had been effected by the year 1834, Bishop Macdonell was quite dissatisfied with certain aspects of the problem. In a letter to the Reverend Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, dated October 29, 1834, he states:

"When I inform your Lordship that of a Catholic population of between 70 and 80 thousand at the present moment in the Province, three quarters are Irish emigrants, and of those, three-fourths, 99 out of a hundred are not able to give education to their children, while on the other hand Methodists and other sectaries are

(1) Somers, H.J., "The Life and Times of Alexander Macdonell", page 50.

seducing as many of the Catholic children and youth as they possibly can to their own errors and delusions, by offering them education and many other allurments; Your Grace will admit of the absolute necessity of providing for Catholic Education in Upper Canada". (2) The inference to be drawn from this letter is that Bishop Macdonell desired for the children of Catholics in Upper Canada an education distinctive in certain respects from that being offered in the common schools. Obviously this was the same view with which he began his educational work in the province.

It has already been noted that the first school act for Upper Canada was passed in 1807. That act pertained to secondary schools, the problem of elementary education still being left to private initiative. In the year 1804 a petition was sent to the Assembly from Glengarry County praying for the establishment of common schools. This petition said in part: "That amidst the many blessings Your Petitioners enjoy under the Constitution and Government of this Province, and notwithstanding the wise exertions of the Legislature to promote public prosperity, they still contemplate with anxiety the ill consequences that may result from the want of Schools both to the present generation and to posterity". (3)

The petitioners state further that the Highlanders, "who form the great majority of inhabitants in this County, and who are in general a moral and religious people, are yet extremely backward in promoting any Public Institution for learning;" The petitioners seek for, "the erection of schools by public authority, in the most central places

(2) This letter in Bishop Macdonell's letter book, in Archbishop's Palace, Kingston.

(3) Ontario Archives, 1909, pages 429 and 430.

in the Country", but the Assembly was in no mood to act upon the petition and voted against this and similar requests during the session.

The petition from Glengarry County was evidence of rising interest in educational matters in the eastern part of Upper Canada. Its rejection three times indicated that sentiment for educational reform in Glengarry County was in advance of opinions held by a majority in the Assembly, though the opposition, as indicated by votes of the members, was not able to command a large majority against the proposed measure. (4)

It was noted in a previous chapter that an act passed in 1807 made provision for a Grammar School in each district. In 1816, an effort was made to provide for the establishment and maintenance of common schools. The sum of \$24,000 per year was voted for four years, at the end of which period the grant was reduced to \$10,000 per year, resulting in the closing up of many schools in the province. When the poverty of the people and the small state support for education are considered, it is easily seen why the state of the schools in Upper Canada was at such a low ebb during the first quarter of the Nineteenth century. Indeed, as late as 1832 a Select Committee to the House of Assembly felt it their duty, "Most earnestly and anxiously to draw the attention of Your Honourable House to the astounding fact, that less is granted by the Provincial Legislature for educating the Youth of three hundred thousand people, than is required to defray the contingent expenses of one Session of Parliament". (5)

(4) The majority against leave to being in a bill on Monday to make provision for the establishment of schools in every district was two. (Ontario Archives, 1909, pages 430 and 431).

(5) Hodgins, J.G., "Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario", vol. 1, page 34.

In 1823 a General Board of Education was established with Reverend Dr. John Strachan as chairman. Dr. Strachan, later Anglican Bishop of Toronto, was a strong protagonist of Anglican influence in educational matters, and there seems little doubt that he wielded a strong influence with the board. In its report for 1826 the board stated that in about three hundred and forty schools, "from seven to eight thousand children are taught reading and writing, the elements of arithmetic and the first principles of religion.....It is of the greatest importance that the education of the Colony should be conducted by the Anglican Clergy".(6) It is abundantly evident that many of the people were dissatisfied with the educational status of the province, and that to the Anglicans only could the system of administration then in operation have appeared satisfactory.

Meanwhile the population was rapidly increasing due chiefly to increased immigration, and the educational problem was becoming proportionately more difficult. By 1815 the Catholic population had increased to about fifteen thousand souls, and educational facilities were lagging far behind. Schools and teachers in sufficient numbers were not available, and those schools which were in operation were not generally acceptable to the Catholics. In the War of 1812-14 the Catholics of the province had proven their loyalty, almost to a man. Now, with the struggle ended, it appeared only just that they be given educational privileges on a par with those accorded other denominations, notably the Anglicans. With this idea in mind Father Macdonell began the erection, in 1815, of a seminary of education at

(6)Putman, J.H., "Edgerton Ryerson and Education un Upper
Canada," Page 48.

St. Raphaels, of which he was to be superintendent and for the staffing of which teachers were to be procured in Great Britain. Sufficient funds for carrying through this project were not available among the Catholics, and on March 1, 1815, Father Macdonell addressed a memorial to Lord Drummond, President of the Province, in which he sought governmental assistance in the project he had undertaken. After outlining his activities in Great Britain and later in Upper Canada, where he, "directed his zealous attention in time of peace to nourish and foment the loyal principles of their ancestors on the minds of his flock, and to preserve them from republican principles", Father Macdonell broached the matter of government aid for his seminary. There is no doubt that, like many other leaders in the province, Father Macdonell was apprehensive lest the pupils in the schools be impregnated with the "republican views" of many of the teachers. That was the logical view of a man whose faith in the efficacy of the British system of government never wavered. However, Father Macdonell's memorial indicated that he wished to secure as teachers for his schools not only British subjects, but "schoolmasters of their own persuasion". His memorial concluded as follows:

" That as few clergymen, however pure their principles or disinterested their views, can be so much attached to a government from which they derive no immediate advantage or maintain authority over their hearers, when they depend upon them altogether for their livelihood your Memorialist humbly submits to your Honour, whether it would not be a wise and politic measure in government to lend some assistance to

support the above-mentioned establishment, and to make some provision for the maintenance of four or five clergymen, and double that number of school masters, which would be hardly sufficient to serve the Scotch Catholics of Upper Canada.

"Your Memorialist therefore most humbly entreats, that your Honour would be pleased to represent to His Majesty's Ministers the claims of your Memorialist, and of His Majesty's loyal Catholic subjects of this province, to the favour and protection of their Sovereign and of their Country, and your Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray".

The answer to this, the first request for state aid to denominational schools in Upper Canada, if sent, is not now available; but in forwarding the memorial to Earl Bathurst, Drummond paid unstinting tribute to the worthy character of Father Macdonell. There appears to have been no official action on the part of the British authorities to Father Macdonell's memorial. However, in the same year an order of the Prince Regent offered land grants and financial aid to clergymen and teachers accompanying emigrants to Canada. As no religious distinction was made with respect to the teachers, Father Macdonell, in March, 1816, requested that James McPherson be appointed school master in Glengarry under the terms of the order. As McPherson had not accompanied the emigrants from Britain, Drummond refused to act before referring the matter to Bathurst, who agreed to the appointment, and McPherson thus became the first Catholic teacher in Upper Canada to receive government aid.

That this was a momentous occasion in the history of denominational

public education in Upper Canada, must be admitted by anyone who studies the evolution of educational administration in the province. A Catholic teacher, who would conduct his school in accordance with the tenets of his Church, was made the recipient of financial assistance from the government, on the same terms as those accorded teachers of non-denominational schools. The principle of financial aid from governmental sources, for denominational schools had been established.

On January 10, 1817, Father Macdonell wrote a long letter to Lord Bathurst, in which he discussed the establishment and promotion of Roman Catholic schools in Upper Canada. (7) In this letter he stated that the whole Catholic population of Upper Canada was about fifteen thousand, and that, "To administer to the spiritual want of all these (Scottish) settlers, and to afford the necessary instructions to their youth would require, at least, six Clergymen, and eight or ten Schoolmasters, who ought to be selected from their own countrymen, professing the same Religion, and speaking the same (Gaelic) language with themselves". He went on to state, "Of all the methods that can be devised to preserve to their children the loyal principles of their fathers, it is obvious that none can prove so effectual as implanting in their minds these principles, and conveying moral and religious instructions to them at an early age, in the emphatic language of their ancestors. Thus assured, by the double barrier, of their Language and Religion, they might, for a long time, stand proof against the contagious politics of their democratical neighbours". He thought the financial inducements and land grants by the government, "could be all that could be required,

(7) Hodgins, J.G., "Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario", (Vol. 1, pages 10 to 13 contain much of Father Macdonell's correspondence with the government on the subject of Catholic education in Upper Canada).

or expected, by the Roman Catholics of that Province," and intimated that the people themselves would contribute whatever more might be necessary. Aid by the government would, in his opinion, strengthen the feelings of loyalty and gratitude of the clergymen, and serve as a "powerful stimulus" to the teachers in discharging their important duty.

It is clear that his proposed seminary was intended to give an academic education on a par, at least, with that given in the Grammar Schools, for he says,

"It is my intention to establish the principal School at my own place of Residence in the County of Glengarry, in order that it may be under my own superintendence, and, for this school, I wish to procure a few Masters in this Country, of superior talents and learning, capable of educating Gentlemen's sons upon a more liberal and extensive plan than what would be necessary for the lower class of settlers. This would preclude the necessity of sending them to the United States, or to the French Seminaries of Lower Canada, as has been the case hitherto". His last request, so far as the proposed seminary was concerned was, that the Imperial government would recommend to the Lieutenant-Governor that it be accorded the same allowance from the Provincial Treasury as was being given to the Protestant District Grammar Schools.

Another point to which Father Macdonell drew Bathurst's attention was the matter of female education. Boarding schools for young ladies were kept principally by American women, and every book of instruction

was of American manufacture, "tinged with the principles of their government and constitution, and holding up their own worthies as perfect patterns of every moral excellence" Father Macdonell expressed the view that if a few English nuns and Religious women were to come to Canada as instructors to young ladies the influence of American principles would be overcome. Should there be any objections made to nuns, he would accept secular women if sufficiently educated; "nor could it be expected that these would pursue an object of this nature with the same perseverance as those (nuns) who had relinquished every other prospect in life, with the sole view of rendering themselves useful to their fellow creatures".

Finally, Father Macdonell intimated that because of government assistance rendered in 1803 to himself and his people, he had been enabled to direct to British colonies many Scotch Catholics, (and presumably others since), and "that since that period not one of them has emigrated to the United States, although, during the same space of time, thousands of Scotch Presbyterians and innumerable Irish subjects in the British colonies have so emigrated; and that these were not only lost forever to their native country, but became its most formidable and inveterate enemies, and swelled the ranks of the American armies in their late attempt to conquer the Canadas, as will be certified by every British officer employed during that time in these provinces".

Due allowance being made for a certain element of hyperbole owing to his strong feelings in the matter, there spoke the inmost soul of Father Macdonell. He had performed and was still performing herculean

tasks on behalf of his people and the form of government under which they lived. To him the instilling of "loyal principles" was only secondary to the instilling of religious principles. Any one who directed emigrants to parts of the world still under British rule was, in his view, performing a valiant work in the service of God and man.

In his memorial Father Macdonell had suggested that at least six clergymen and eight or ten school masters would be required for his people. The government finally gave permission for the appointment of three school masters, and, after further negotiation, for the appointment of three clergymen. Salaries of teachers and clergymen were finally set at one hundred pounds each. The names of the three teachers engaged by Father Macdonell were Messrs. Richard Hammond, John Murdock, and Angus McDonald; the clergymen selected were the Reverends Angus Macdonell, William Fraser, and John MacDonald.

It was one thing to have obtained the government's promise of financial assistance; it was quite another thing to have those promises fulfilled in Upper Canada. Father Macdonell's application to the provincial government for payment of the allowances promised by Bathurst was refused, the reason advanced being that there were no funds available. This reason was a valid one at the moment; but the funds could have been voted by the House of Assembly, had not this body, due to a disagreement with the Legislative Council, refused to raise the money or sanction its payment. Father Macdonell had brought out clergymen and school masters to Upper Canada, on the written

promise of Bathurst that financial aid for their support from government sources would be provided. It is not the purpose in this work to discuss at any length Father, (and after 1819), Bishop Macdonell's unremitting efforts, in both the Canadas and Britain over a period of nine years to have the promised financial aid take tangible form. When, in 1824, the sum of nine hundred pounds was paid by the government on account of salaries of clergymen and school masters, the consummation of Bishop Macdonell's plan of government aid for his schools and churches had been realized. He now turned his attention to the problem of obtaining payment by the government, "on behalf of these individuals, (clergymen and teachers), for the arrears of salary due them since the period of their appointments in their respective Capacities". (8) It was not Bishop Macdonell's custom to be content with half measures of success

(8) Public Archives, Ottawa, Series Q, vol. 337, 265 - 270.

CHAPTER V

CONSUMMATION OF BISHOP MACDONELL'S EDUCATIONAL WORK

The projected plan for the establishment of the College of Iona at St. Raphaels was delayed until 1826, when Bishop Macdonell appointed the Reverend W.P. Macdonald to take charge of his seminary for the training of ecclesiastical students. Previous to this, Bishop Macdonell had been conducting lessons in his own residence with the assistance of Father John Macdonald. The arrival of Father W.P. Macdonald placed the work of the college on a more permanent basis, but pecuniary difficulties and an apparent lack of interest on the part of the people themselves hampered its progress. In a letter dated July 26, 1834, Bishop Macdonell says in part, "..... From the great respect and confidence they seemed to entertain for Bishop Gaulin, I thought they would be quite _____ to him and heartily cooperate with him in finishing the parish church with the powerful assistance which I received from Government, and all I have done myself. In place of that only judge of my disappointment and mortification to learn that after the most solemn promises to put in boards to finish the _____ of the church to the amount of upwards of fifty thousand feet, only two or three loads were drawn to the church when he left; nor was this all, not one tenth part of the tithes was paid, nor would they give him a sixpence worth of anything without the cash paid over it. Some of them have refused to pay him at all altho I have been keeping a school master of the first talents and education

at St.Raphael's since last year; few would send their children to him and those few took them away. Some sent a few boarders whom he has been finding(boarding) and educating in the house, but not a farthing has been paid for them".(1)

In spite of all obstacles, - local apathy sometimes bordering on opposition, lack of funds, and dearth of students, the work of St. Raphael's continued until its functions were taken over by the establishment of Regiopolis College, at Kingston, the corner stone of which was laid by Bishop Macdonell. During the years it had been in operation the College of Iona had been the means of giving preliminary ecclesiastical training to a number of young men who later occupied important positions in the Church.

On the site of the former Iona College there is in operation today an excellent Separate School taught by four nuns, who teach the first two grades of secondary school work, as well as the whole range of the elementary grades. There is a spacious brick building, estimated to be worth \$60,000 and containing equipment valued at over \$2,000. Here, on the site of Bishop Macdonell's first educational work in Upper Canada is a school being conducted in the manner he deemed best for the children of Roman Catholic parents. Here, still stands the old building first made use of in his day as a school, and here, no doubt, the pupils are inspired to greater effort by the recollection of the unremitting toil and dogged perseverance of the founder of Iona College

Advancing age and increasing responsibilities led Bishop Macdonell to ask for a coadjutor bishop, and Mr. Weld of Lulworth Castle, a

(1) Bishop Macdonell's letter book, Archbishop's Palace, Kingston.

descendant of one of the oldest Catholic families of England, who had taken orders following the death of his wife, was selected for the post. Bishop Weld, not being in very robust health, remained some years in England after his appointment. Later he went to Rome where he was nominated Cardinal by Pope Pius VIII, who no doubt saw in Bishop Weld a man who would be invaluable in improving relations between English officialdom and the Holy See. Again Bishop Macdonell suffered keen disappointment so far as his work in Canada was concerned, but he congratulated Cardinal Weld on his elevation, and carried on his work as best he could without the aid which he so sorely needed. He saw in the elevation of Bishop Weld to the cardinalate a serious setback to his work in Upper Canada, particularly in the field of education, for in his letter of congratulation he said: "This unexpected event will alter the progress of religion in the Province for a greater number of years than I would venture to mention. For, besides, disappointing the most sanguine expectations of both Catholics and Protestants, who seem to vie with one another in their anxiety to see a superior system of education, especially female education under your Eminence's interest in the welfare of the Province will cease in some degree with your connection with it".(2)

Bishop Macdonell's keenest disappointment was not caused because he would be required to carry on his onerous duties without the service of such an eminent coadjutor as he saw Bishop Weld would have been. As can be seen, it was the setback to his educational plans, especially those for the training of girls, which caused his keenest pangs of

(2) Somers, H. J., "Life and Times of Bishop Macdonell...", page 100.

regret. Seven years of effort in obtaining an assistant to lighten the onerous duties of his declining years was finally crowned with success, in the appointment of Bishop Gaulin, who several years before had been Vicar to Bishop Macdonell.

In order the better to appraise the educational work of Bishop Macdonell in Upper Canada it will be necessary at this point to consider briefly the earliest legislation respecting Separate Schools, passed in Upper Canada. It may be stated that until after 1841 only three enactments pertaining to elementary education had been passed by the Legislature of Upper Canada. These were the acts of 1816, 1820, and 1824. The provisions for Separate Schools in the Act of 1841 were introduced by the mixed committee of the House to whom the bill was entrusted, as the result of a deadlock over it in the united Assembly of Upper and Lower Canada. Many petitions, asking that the Bible be used as a textbook in the schools had been received by the Assembly. Several leading Roman Catholic Churchmen came forward, asking that the School Bill, "Should not become law, until the opinion of the Catholic and other religious denominations be known". (3)

The result of these petitions was that the mixed committee made the addition to the bill of the provisions for the establishment of Separate Schools, which should share in the grants voted for the promotion of elementary education. The principal provisions pertaining to Separate Schools were as follows:

XI. Be it enacted, That whenever any number of the Inhabitants of any Township, or Parish, professing a Religious Faith different from that of the majority of the Inhabitants of such

(3) Hodgins, J.G., "Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada", pages 11 and 12.

Township, or Parish, shall dissent from the Regulations, Arrangements, or Proceedings of the Common School Commissioners, (Elected in each Township), with reference to any Common School in such Township, or Parish, it shall be lawful for the Inhabitants, so dissenting, collectively to signify such dissent in writing to the Clerk of the District Council, with the name, or names, of one or more persons elected by them, as their Trustee, or Trustees, for the purposes of this Act; and the said District Clerk shall forthwith furnish a certified copy thereof to the District Treasurer; and it shall be lawful for such Dissenting Inhabitants, by and through such Trustee, or Trustees, who, for that purpose, shall hold and exercise all rights, powers and authorities, and be subject to the obligations and liabilities hereinbefore assigned to, and imposed upon Common School Commissioners, to establish and maintain one or more Common Schools, in the manner and subject to the Visitation, Conditions, Rules and Obligations in this Act provided, with reference to other Common Schools, and to receive from the District Treasurer their due proportion, according to their number, of the moneys appropriated by Law and raised by assessment for the support of Common Schools, in the School District, or Districts, in which the said Inhabitants reside, in the same manner as if the Common Schools, so to be established and maintained under such Trustee, or Trustees, were established and maintained under the said Common School Commissioners, such moneys to be paid by the District Treasurer, upon the Warrant of the said Trustee, or Trustees;

XVI. Be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor of this Province to appoint, from time to time, in each of the Cities and Towns Corporate therein, not less than six nor more than fourteen persons, (one half of whom shall, in all cases, be Roman Catholics, and the other half Protestants), to be a Board of Examiners for each City or Town, Corporate; of which said Board the Mayor shall be Chairman, but shall have no vote other than a casting vote; and the said Board shall be divided into two Departments, one of which shall consist of Roman Catholics, and shall exercise the duties hereinafter assigned to the Board of Examiners in and over the Common Schools attended by Roman Catholic Children only, and shall, in such case, appoint their Chairman; and the other Department shall consist of Protestants, who shall exercise their said duties in and over the Common Schools attended by Protestant Children only, and shall in such cases appoint their Chairman; and, in all cases in which the said Common Schools are attended by Roman Catholic Children and Protestant Children together, the said duties shall be exercised in and over the same by the whole Board of Examiners; and the

duties of the said Board, and of the said Departments hereof, in the several cases above-mentioned, in and for the said Cities, and Towns, Corporate, respectively, shall be to examine the persons recommended as Teachers by the corporation, and reject them, if unqualified, on the ground of character or ability; and to regulate for each School separately the course of study to be followed in such School, and the books to be used therein, and to establish general rules for the conduct of the Schools, and communicate them in writing to the respective Teachers...."(4)

The two provisions just quoted were the foundation stones upon which have been reared subsequently the structure of Separate School legislation in the Province of Ontario. An impartial observer would surely say that this legislation was framed with a view to according impartial treatment to religious groups desiring to have their children educated in dissentient schools. With the industrialization of the province, and the rise of large corporations, other problems respecting the apportionment of school taxes from such corporations have arisen. It is not the purpose here to discuss this question; but there seems little doubt that this problem will continue to be a source of contention in the province until it is solved in an equitable manner.

Keeping in mind the situation with respect to Catholic education and religion in Upper Canada when Father Macdonell arrived, in 1804, we may ask ourselves what he had accomplished during the time he had laboured in the province. In a return to Sir John Colborne for the year 1832, Bishop Macdonell reported thirty-four churches either built or being built, and eighteen other places where services were occasionally held, and where churches were required. He also listed ten places where school houses were required, and four others where schools were being built.

(4) Hodgins, J.G., "Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada", pages 23 and 24.

Writing to Sir Francis Bond Head, in 1836, Bishop Macdonell said:

"The erection of five-and-thirty churches and chapels, great and small, although many of them are in an unfinished state, built by my exertion, and the zealous services of two-and-twenty clergymen, the major part of whom have been educated at my own expense, afford a substantial proof that I have not neglected my spiritual functions, nor the care of the souls under my charge; and if that be not sufficient, I can produce satisfactory documents to prove that I have expended, since I have been in this Province, no less than thirteen thousand pounds of my own private means, besides what I received from other quarters, in building churches, chapels, presbyteries, and school houses, in rearing young men for the Church and in promoting general education" (5)

He had laboured for thirty-two years in Upper Canada, and for him the sands of time had but four more years to run. His had been an eventful life replete with more physical hardship and disappointment than fall to the lot of most men. Three times in his lifetime he had initiated and carried through momentous designs for the betterment of his Highland compatriots. The first two of these, - the Glasgow venture, and the raising of the Highland Fencible Regiments, were fraught with success, but as events proved, were too dependent upon other circumstances over which Father Macdonell had no direct control, to offer a permanent solution of the problem of distresses which had overtaken the Highlanders.

(5) Macdonell, J.A., "A sketch of the Life of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell", page 23.

Nothing daunted, Father Macdonell turned his thoughts to Upper Canada, with what happy results we have already noted.

When he arrived in Upper Canada he found the country largely undeveloped, and the people living under relatively primitive conditions. There is no doubt that among all classes of the people there was considerable laxity in church attendance, and a disinterested attitude toward educational matters. This was a natural consequence in view of the scarcity of churches, schools, clergymen, and teachers. As we have noted, many of the Grammar Schools were taught by members of the Anglican Church, while many of the Common Schools were taught by persons lacking most of the requisite qualifications of good teachers. There were no Common Schools being conducted in accordance with the tenets of the Catholic Church, and no government regulations for the support and direction of education had been passed.

When Bishop Macdonell died in Scotland in 1840, Catholic education had been well established in Upper Canada. The schools which he founded were in receipt of governmental moneys, and others were being erected, partly by government support. His perseverance in overcoming all obstacles to government support for his schools has had, in the opinion of the writer, much to do with the establishment in Ontario of the present system of Separate Schools. In the school legislation passed in 1841, the principle of Separate Schools was accepted. Two years later the principle was again accepted. In both cases the legislation was in answer to requests from different denominations

of Christians, and not, as is often assumed by those not familiar with the facts, because of the requests of Catholics only. In passing legislation for the establishment of Separate Schools, the legislators no doubt had in mind the excellent record of those denominational schools already established by the efforts of Bishop Macdonell. He was truly the founder of Catholic education in Upper Canada. Others have added to the superstructure since. The foundation, strongly built, still stands, a monument to the builder.

APPENDICES

1. Petition for Common Schools from County of Glengarry, 1804

The petition of the undersigned Magistrates and others of the County of Glengarry, Eastern District;

Humbly Sheweth:

That amidst the many blessings Your Petitioners enjoy under the Constitution and Government of this Province, and notwithstanding the wise exertions of the Legislature to promote public prosperity, they still contemplate with anxiety the ill consequences that may result from the want of Schools both to the present generation and to posterity.

That though the scarcity of these useful institutions may be ascribed in some degree to the infant state of the Province in general, and to the want of adequate means to give them weight and perpetuity, yet peculiar circumstances aggravate these unavoidable misfortunes, in this part of the Province in particular.

The Highlanders who form the great majority of inhabitants in this County, and who are in general a moral and religious people, are yet extremely backward in promoting any Public Institution for learning.

In their native country they were accustomed to hear the beauties of Christianity inculcated in their mother tongue, whence many of them supposed that an English education was unnecessary, and what each individual was made to contribute by public authority towards the support of a school was so very light and so imperceptibly collected with the annual rents, that the mass of the people actually forgot that they bore any part of the burden.

These circumstances, together with the numerous charity schools established in different parts of the Highlands of Scotland, which cost nothing to the Inhabitants, have impressed the natives of that country with habits of thinking unfavourable to public institutions; and the few schools found among them (by the painful exertions of certain individuals) are so discouraging and unprofitable to public instructors, that consequently they are fluctuating and of little value.

Your Petitioners therefore submit it to your consideration whether the erection of schools by public authority, in the most central places in the country, under such regulations as may to your wisdom seem meet, and with such provision as circumstances may afford, would not be a measure of great utility, both in a political and moral view, to the rising generation; and would not speedily counteract the effect of an improper bias, contracted by the people, who, in other respects are a reasonable and valuable description of men.

And as in duty bound, Your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

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The petition was signed by eleven residents of the County.

(From Report of Ontario Archives, 1909, pages 429 and 430)

A motion the same day as this petition was presented, for leave to bring in a bill on Monday to make provision for the establishment of schools in each and every District within the Province was defeated by a majority of two.

(Report of Ontario Archives, 1909, pages 430 and 431)

Leave to bring in a similar motion to provide Public Schools in certain parts of the province, was defeated by the same majority.

2. Letter in Kingston Gazette, June 9, 1818

While philanthropists exult in the hope, that the age of coercion is passing away, why should we neglect to aid the arrival of milder manners, and happier times by inculcating their superior advantages in the education of Youth ?

And how can this be done, so long as teachers or parents believe nothing can be accomplished in education without unabating rigour or continual chastisement ? We may in vain give lessons on humanity, to the child who wantonly kicks a dog or destroys a cat; if we continue on every gust of passion to exercise cruelty on the scholars, or severity on the helpless infant; murder itself may sometimes originate from some such error in Education, as the robber, under the gallows, retraced his crime to the stolen apple. I have, in Canada, heard a good old British officer observe, on the subject of education, that he still recollects, with indignation the treatment he received at school; and that he would as readily have marched into a field of battle, as he would have entered his school room or have met a musket ball, as have faced his school-master; and I have conversed with many others who still retain familiar feelings; such pedagogues, I consider as mischievous, mercenary pretenders, and by no means as those who have "the true secret of education".

The paths to learning, should, if possible, be strewn with flowers, and not with thorns. The tutor, should be mild and firm, patient and persuasive, rather than be clothed with terrors; his pupils one family; himself the father. Those parents have very erroneous notions, who consider a school-master as the only proper dispenser of punishments; or who tease, and interrupt him, with continual complaints of juvenile errors, in which the parents alone are responsible.

While some parents forbid the rigour necessary to remove

the vices, or to unlearn the errors acquired by parental indulgence, others most approve of those passionate pedagogues, who prefer stripes to precepts, and in higgling with a preceptor about his recompense, think they have made a good bargain, when they get one who will whip their children for half a dollar per quarter less, than another would charge to instruct them. While they hesitate not, in giving a labourer a dollar per day, for his services, whose labours though severe, are not equal to those of the mind. A school-master who receives 25 dollars from government, is expected to teach a scholar for one dollar and a half per quarter, his recompense, therefore, from the parent is one penny per day and for that he has often to give six lessons ! Now, should this man have a family, resident in the neighbourhood (and which should always if possible be the case) he will seldom require cash of his subscribers while they supply him with produce; so that were his recompense greater it would scarcely be felt by the farmers or merchants. But the littleness of conduct in their treaty with teachers, is so very opposite to the disinterested hospitality of Canadians that it must have originated from a want of due consideration on the importance and value of education; for as the morals and prosperity of every country must go hand in hand, so the dispensers of public instruction should be proportionately rewarded.

Thus it is easy to conceive that a man may be a good grammarian, an expert arithmetician, a fine penman, etc., and yet be found a bad teacher.

But in Canada, learning requires stable as well as able men, but how can stability be expected from young adventurers, or travelling strangers; or who can be responsible for their moral character ? In many townships a teacher of twelve months' standing is a prodigy; one of as many weeks being the most common. One might also well suppose, that from the continual accounts given in the public papers, of the most abominable impostors finding employment and encouragement, as school masters, that parents would be found more cautious, or vigilant in their choice. God forbid that by this bruit, I should be thought to impeach the morals or merit of strangers in general, many of whom have certainly proved themselves worthy of the great confidence reposed in them; but as a parent I may be excused the anxiety which I feel, and would wish to be felt by others, in the choice of those who may either pollute or elevate the minds of our offspring.

One might suppose from the shattered condition and ill accommodation of many school-houses, that they were erected as pounds, to confine unruly boys, and punish them by way of freezing and smoking - So the master can do little more than regulate the ceremonies of the hearth.

John Morris Flindall

3. Memorial of Bishop Macdonell to Drummond, March 1, 1815.

(Public Archives, Ottawa, Series Q, vol. 132, 240-244)

The Memorial of the Reverend Alexander Macdonell of the
County of Glengarry,
Humbly Sheweth:

That your Memorialist in the year 1794 was deputed by the Roman Catholics of the Highlands of Scotland, to convey A Loyal Address to His Majesty, accompanied by an offer to raise and embody a Catholic Regiment in defence of his person and Government.

Your Memorialist was the first person who proposed to extend the service of Fencible Corps out of Great Britain, and at that at a time of general alarm and danger, when all the Scotch Fencibles with the exception of two refused to march even into England, which proposal being accepted by Government, a Letter of Service was in consequence given to raise the Catholic Regiment of Glengarry Fencibles to serve in the Islands of Jersey & Guernsey & Ireland.

That by means of your Memorialists' interests amongst the Catholics they came forward more readily to enlist in the said Regiment, which was thereby soon completed, and your Memorialist was denominated to be their Chaplain, and accompanied the Regiment to Guernsey, where he constantly attended to them till the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, when your Memorialist embarked with his Regiment for that country, shared all their dangers and fatigues, partook of all their exertions in the County of Wexford, and in the Mountains of Wisklow and other parts where the Embers of Rebellion remained longest alive - and required the most uncommon exertions to extinguish.

That on these trying occasions your Memorialist with becoming duty and zeal directed his attention to repress a spirit of rapacity and wanton cruelty in the Soldier, and reconcile the disaffected Irish by every influence which his Clerical Character enabled him occasionally to assume, and his exertions were not unfrequently successful.

That in consequence of early services acknowledged, your Memorialist was given to understand that he might retire under His Majesty's regulation in the year 1796 of allowing four shillings per day to the Regimental Chaplains, an indulgence of which every other person in his situation took advantage, but unwilling to a body of men he had in great measure brought together or forsake a cause it was the duty of every good man to adhere to, your Memorialist determined to serve with his Regiment until the end of the war, altho by so doing he has been a great sufferer through inattention to the concerns of two Brothers who fell in the service of their country.

The men who composed the Glengarry Fencible Regiment at the reduction of that corps came to a resolution to join their friends in this Province. Your Memorialist made their intention known to Government and having undertaken their destination hither, he obtained upon ~~that~~ occasion the enclosed letter No.2 from the Colonial Minister to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and altho the renewal of the war which took place soon after prevented the greater part of these from putting their intention into execution at the time, many of them have found their way to the Province since.

That your Memorialist himself having by the sanction of Government been appointed to the charge of all the Scotch Catholics in Upper Canada, directed his zealous attention in time of peace to nourish and foment the loyal principles of their ancestors on the minds of ~~his~~ flock, and to preserve them from republican principles, which by means of the uncontrolled influx of emigrants from the United States, he found rapidly diffusing through every part of the Province.

During the last War your Memorialist exerted Himself by every influence which his situation and the discharge of duty enabled him to acquire, and he flatters himself with considerable Effect, to rouse into action the martial Spirit of his countrymen, and in order to encourage ~~theis~~ Spirit your Memorialist followed them to the field, on every occasion when they had to face the Enemy, and he appeals to the officers who commanded the Expeditions against Ogdensburg and Salmon River, and to the different officers who commanded the Militia in this part of the Province, during the whole war for the truth of what he asserts.

That your Memorialist never confined himself to one line of duty, but made use on all occasions of every means which circumstances might put in his power to serve his Country. During his residence in Ireland he furnished Col. Little Hales, the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, and Mr. Cook the Under Secretary of State, with much useful information, which would be difficult for them to procure from other quarters, on the subject of the discontents in that Country and the means of allaying them. In 1812 and 1813 your Memorialist had the honour to make several communications on the subject of Emigration to the Rt. Honble. Charles Yorke, Secretary of War, and Lord Sidmouth then chancellor of the exchequer, to whom he also submitted a plan of diverting to these Provinces, the alarming current of Emigration, which has been for so long a time flowing from Great Britain and Ireland to the United States of America. This plan was approved of at the time, and if put into execution would have preserved fifty thousand loyal Subjects to Great Britain, who would have formed in these provinces a Bulwark that might Baffle every attempt of an invading foe, but who in their new adopted Country are now inveterate Enemies to the Government and constitution of the parent country. The accompanying Letter to the Secretary at

War No.1, from the Colonial Minister No.2 and the Under Secretary No.3 are sufficient testimonials of your Memorialist's conduct before he came to Canada, and since he been in this Province your Memorialist trusts that his exertions in the service of his country are not altogether unknown to your Honor, nor to His Excellency the Commander of the forces himself.

That your Memorialist, finding his health now on the decline, and himself incapable of continuing any longer his accustomed labours and fatigues in hopes that the wisdom and liberality of Government will induce it to support the fabric of loyalty & Religion which he has been endeavouring to rear in this interesting Colony, begs leave humbly to represent, that a few Clergymen & schoolmasters of their own persuasion, who should have been educated in Britain, or at least by those who have been themselves educated in the genuine principles of the British Constitution would be most suitable to instruct & direct the minds of the Scotch Catholics of the Province.

That under this conviction your Memorialist has commenced the erection of a Seminary of Education, with the intention of procuring Teachers from Britain, & superintending it myself but without assistance from Government, he has reason to apprehend that he will not be able to complete his undertaking.

That as few Clergymen however pure their principles, or disinterested their views; can be so much attached to a Government from which they derive no immediate advantage or maintain authority over their hearers, when they depend upon them altogether for their livelihood your Memorialist humbly submits to your Honour, whether it would not be a wise and politic measure in Government to lend some assistance, to support the above mentioned Establishment, and to make some provision for the maintenance of four or five Clergymen, and double that number of schoolmasters, which would be hardly sufficient to serve the Scotch Catholics of Upper Canada.

Your Memorialist therefore must humbly entreats, that your Honour would be pleased to represent to His Majesty's Ministers the claims of your Memorialist, and of His Majesty's Loyal Catholic subjects of this province, to the favour and protection of their Sovereign and of their Country, and your Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray.

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